845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the
856 baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
[987] if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[763] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[826] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

769 the family must buy a buffalo way ahead of the date so that it can grow fat for the occasion. On the vacant ground outside the village a small straw pavilion is erected as the altar of sacrifice. The offspring of the deceased would lead the buffalo to the altar, and waving a large butcher's knife, shout several times: "Let no one rob our buffalo!" Inside the pavilion, incense and candles are lit and placed alongside such sacrificial items as chicken and duck. Standing beside the straw pavilion, the Kwei-shih would pray to the dead: "Your descendants so-and-so send you a buffalo and wish you would watch over them always." The man then brings the butcher's knife upon the buffalo's head. If the animal is killed with one stroke, then the greatest luck would attend the household. The head of the buffalo is placed in the pavilion as a sacrifice and the beef is cooked in a huge cauldron. Those friends and relations, who have come with five measures of rice and one jar of wine as gifts, now partake of the feast. After it is over, each one carries home three pieces of beef on a pointed bamboo stick.

751 847 (9) Hong Ma and Hong Pa. In the Miao-I village one often sees abandoned butchered children lying around. The heads and legs of these dead children are severed with a kitchen knife by their own parents, the same knife thrown beside the body with blood strewn all over, - the whole presenting a gruesome spectacle. This happened because the dead child's parents had brought to this world several sons who had died of the same illness, and so they believed that an evil spirit must have possessed them and been reborn several times to "hong ma and hong pa" (to deceive the parents). Therefore, this child is now decapitated and slaughtered so that the headless and limbless spirit of vengeance would not be able to come to

the womb again. After this any child born is sure to grow into manhood. The decapitation and butchering have to be done before the child breathes his last. When the parents perceive that the illness of the child is identical to that of the other deceased children, /92/ they expect him to die, and taking advantage of his still being alive they cut off his head and legs. Otherwise, they believe, the prevention would not be effective. It is said that some ignorant Chinese in the same locality also follow this custom. 751 847

(10) Hair Preservation. When a child of the Miao-I is born the parents invariably ask a fortune-teller to outline his life's destiny. If his destiny is not good, then his hair is allowed to grow until he is six or twelve years old when he has his first haircut. The long unshaved hair is said to help preserve the life of the child. The first haircut is an occasion for great celebration: every household in the village would hang out red and green festoons and send greetings to the parents, who in turn would give a party, killing chicken and pig for a great feast. 787 852 856

(11) The Small Horse Image. If a child among the Ch'ing Miao cries all night without stop, the parents would attribute the cause of the trouble to the passing by of the "sky horse", a colloquial name for the locust. They would hang on the door a straw-wrapped bowl filled with rice and water, and little images of horses cut from the bark of a tree. This would stop the cry of the child. 755 753

(12) Throwing Water and Rice. When a Miao-I first becomes ill, the general assumption is that he has run into some starving ghost. The family immediately burns a bunch of unhusked rice and lights incense and candles in a bowl of rice immersed in water. This bowl is carried

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

585 they really want her but it is also true that brides sometimes run away at this time. Another ceremony that is sometimes performed at a wedding is that of calling the soul of the bride. Her soul may fail to come with her and if it does not come, she will die.

After a few months have passed, the bride is permitted occasionally to visit her parents, but henceforth her husband's home is her home and his family is her family. She calls her husband's parents father and mother.

[847] [848] 791 844 When an unmarried woman gives birth to a child, the child is made away with as secretly as possible and little is said about it. When a married woman becomes pregnant, about three or four months before the child is born a *tuan kung* 端公 is called. He takes a bowl, fills it with water, and burns a paper charm in it. He then covers it first with a piece of paper, then with a blue cloth. He twists his hands in odd ways above the bowl of water. He calls his gods to come and protect the bowl of water and the woman. The water is supposed to be from a sea in heaven and to protect the woman from demons. The gods he has called live in the bowl of water as in a sanctuary, and they protect the pregnant woman. Therefore the bowl of water is hung up from a beam of the roof inside the house. On the first and fifteenth of each moon the head of the house pours water into the bowl to replace the water that has evaporated and burns paper money as a means of presenting money to the gods.

The *tuan kung* is paid before this ceremony and after the birth of the child if the child lives. He may be paid a dollar or two or be given clothing, pork, a chicken or some other object.

After the birth of the child the *tuan kung* is invited back to take down the bowl of water. He arranges tables, burns incense and lights candles, and burns paper or spirit money as an offering to the gods. Then he takes down the bowl of water. He repeats incantations, then pours the water out in the main hall near the end farthest from the door. He is again paid money or given presents if the child and the mother live, but not otherwise.

846 The mother is impure after the child is born and cannot leave the house for one month. On the third day a chicken is killed for her. The salt she eats must be burnt red in a fire before she can eat it, else she may become ill. On the seventh day the mother washes all her clothes. Then she can move about freely in the house, but she must not eat with anybody else, and she must be given good food to eat—eggs, vermicelli, cabbage and so on. But she must not eat fat meat and a few other things that are supposed to injure her. She must not eat the flesh of an animal that has been killed within the past month or two.

[7 cont.]

844 4) Childbirth. The Miao-I people are physically very sturdy: their ability to procreate and their capacity for farm work are both great. The women too have to attend to house chores, being especially strong and fit, they regard childbirth as a common occurrence. When a married woman is pregnant [843] she has to be confined in her husband's house. At the time of childbirth she is attended by her mother-in-law or sister-in-law or sometimes she is just by herself. The umbilical cord is broken by means of a piece of stone, and the sac is placed in an earthen jar and buried underground or hung up high in the room. The baby is then washed with cold water. The mother 846 remains at home for a week, after which she goes up the hill to gather firewood or down the field to cultivate the land without further inhibition or recuperation. They are afraid to have ● 847 too many children and often get rid of them by drowning or simply killing them. It is said that when children are numerous there will be disputes over inheritance and litigations. [8] Moreover, if the parents have no property, the acquisition of many children means so much hard work to bring them up. So whether there is money or not in the family, to have children means added suffering and privation to the parents, who are therefore reluctant to have too many. Because of the prevalence [165] of infanticide the rate of childbirth is decreasing. This and the high mortality rate combine to endanger the growth of their population.

164 5) Disease. Due to the difficulties of livelihood the Miao-I cannot afford the facilities of health and sanitation. Their hardihood enables them to survive the cold seasons of winter and spring when little disease prevails. But summer and autumn are the seasons of ill health. In case of sickness there are no medical facilities in the Miao-I areas, and the patient is left to the mercy of nature or magic. Sometimes a mi-la [diviner] 755 or a kuei-shih [shaman priest] is asked to propitiate the ghost. Mi-la is also known as "mi-p'o," and kuei-shih as "tuan-kung." The patient's family first asks the diviner to ascertain the kind of evil spirit that is causing the trouble and the kind of animal most appropriate for sacrifice. Then the wizard priest is asked

[164 cont.]

768 inherited estate, upon which other children may likewise live, according to the particular arrangements agreed upon.

423 Among the settled "Méo" tribes (near irrigated rice fields or particularly fertile areas) the idea of property is clearly established. The ground belongs to the one who has cleared it or laid it out, and it is transmitted by inheritance.

Everywhere else customs are found analogous to those of the "Man," the ground belonging temporarily to the one who cultivates it, but it is abandoned when it is exhausted or when a better piece of ground is found near which one goes and settles.

844 The "Méo" woman gives birth sitting on a tabouret, supported by her mother and by other old women. She afterward lies down on a cot bed. The placenta is buried in front of the door, if a boy is 553 born; it is buried [165] under the hearth if it is a girl (1). Thirty-
852

[775] 1. The "Méo" must know where his placenta is so that he may retrieve it when he is reincarnated.

three days after his birth the child receives his name. Relatives and friends bring presents to him and this is the occasion for a feast [527] as sumptuous as the resources of the family permit. Gifts and feasts are renewed upon all the birthdays. In principle, the children are 853 nursed for three years.

●847 Abortion is practiced among the "Méo" for all irregular pregnancies (unmarried women and widows). In case of failure, the baby simply is abandoned from the moment of his birth and dies of hunger.

846 Among certain "Méo" tribes of China the "couvade" still is practiced (the husband goes to bed during the accouchement and receives treatment). This custom is not practiced by the "Méo" of Tonkin, but one observes among them customs that appear to be derived from it. The husband must follow a vegetable diet, he is forbidden to be away from home and to cross over the passes leading toward the neighboring valleys.

582 The "Méo" may contract marriage, either within their own clan, or within any other tribe of the group. They marry very seldom outside their group.

/92 cont./

836 [562] With regard to the boys, however, the parents are positively proud of the successes of their sons in this respect. The chief, Tsin Tsai, for instance, told me that his second youngest son was especially clever with the girls. He had surely inherited this from him, because in his youth he had been called a "tiger among the girls"!

848 [842] It is strange that illegitimate children are relatively rare, although I was repeatedly told that no contraceptive devices are used. If a girl gives birth to an illegitimate child, however, the families concerned immediately change their attitude, /93/ and the parents of the lovers forcefully insist on the marriage of the young people. The girl is ready for this under all circumstances, but it sometimes happens that a young man wants to evade his obligation. In this case both families [626] put such pressure upon him that he practically always gives in. If not, he is obliged to pay any indemnity that the girl's [684] parents demand. If he is not in a position to do this, he has to marry for otherwise he would be severely punished by the chief of the village.

627 848 If a young man should deny paternity, the testimony of the girl, or the young mother, is valid in doubtful cases. She summons her parents and those of the young man and leads them to the place where she had her meetings with the young man. She describes details which almost always force the young man to withdraw his denials. Moreover, in the generally small communities, it is probably always known "with whom a girl is going," as my informants said. On the other hand, if the [851] seducer pays the price asked by the girl's parents, the matter is regarded as settled, and the illegitimate child remains with the family of the mother and belongs to this family.

114 ●847 848 In contrast to my observations, separate authors report that the Meau try to get rid of illegitimate children through abortion or at the latest after the birth. Lajonquière (1),

1. II, p. 317.

for instance, writes: "If a child is conceived out of wedlock,

/93 cont./
M 114 an attempt is made, with the help of medicines, to bring about an abortion. If this is unsuccessful, the child is abandoned
● 847 after birth and dies of hunger." These statements, which
848 Abadie (2) repeats verbatim, do not agree, as has been said.

2. Page 165.

with my findings.

M 827 Among the Meau the average age of marriage for the young men is between sixteen and seventeen, that of the girls
582 about four years later.
[163] In explanation of this age difference, I was told that it is only after this age that a girl's body is strong enough to bear without harm the minimum of ten children expected of a woman. Earlier births are said to weaken the organism, and the women turn into invalids and are no longer able to do the proper amount of work. The /94/ young men, on the other hand, are able to beget strong children at a much earlier age.
M 595 As a consequence of this attitude the first wife of a Meau is generally older, more mature, and stronger than her husband.
[152] The younger, later wives can therefore be all the more easily
[554] absorbed into the household, especially since jealousy plays no role at all. The first wife is the chief wife, to whom all the other wives are subordinate in every respect. Accordingly, she has a position of trust within the community.

A 864 Among the Akha the father sleeps with the unmarried sons, the mother with the unmarried girls, each in one room
[513] of the dwelling. During the night the father visits the mother,
[893] or vice versa, "when everybody is asleep," as my informant put it. Thus, even in the parents' house there is no barrier to
A M [842] prevent the children from observing sexual activities from the earliest age. Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are well acquainted with the physiological aspect of paternity. Nevertheless
A 836 sexual freedom for unmarried persons prevails among them

/249 cont./

847 Deliberate abortion is unknown.

681 The most common punishment is whipping, which the village chief may also order. It is meted out in connection [622] with lies, slandering, insults, and similar offenses and is ad- [683] ministered with a cowhide whip which is greased and made [689] pliable over a fire before being used. Moreover, whipping is often inflicted in addition to the frequent fines in money or property; it is also used when fines in money are not brought in. In such a case, one stroke is given for each piece of silver.

681 In cases of theft up to the value of ten pieces of silver, 685 the thief must simply return the stolen goods and, for the first such offense which is proved against him, is merely warned. Recidivous thieves, on the other hand, must expect corporal punishment, which is meted out in addition to fines in money or goods. Thus, recidivous thieves of produce, domestic animals, and similar goods may be sentenced to mutilation and to the amputation of the third, fourth, or fifth finger of one hand as well as half of the left ear. These punishments can also be meted out if a person is unable to pay the fine in money to which he was sentenced.

685 If the stolen goods represent a value of from 10 to 100 693 pieces of silver, fifty per cent more has to be paid as a fine, and in addition 20 to 30 pieces of silver has to be paid to the judge for his services. If the value exceeds 100 pieces of silver, the entire estimated cost of the loot, that is, 100 per cent, must be paid as a fine, and, in addition, far greater charges for the judge.

681 Imprisonment is unknown, as is emasculation or outright 567 selling into slavery. This seems to be in contradiction to the legal practice of handing over the children of debtors to the creditor for his disposal in lieu of payment. /250/ If one recalls, however, that among the Meau adoption is very common and that even traders deal in the trade of human beings only from this point of view of the Meau, be it for adoption or marriage, the apparent contradiction disappears.